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THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS RELEASED FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS: A STUDY OF THE FIRST RESIDENCE AFTER RELEASE

Massachusetts Department of Correction

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INTRODUCTION

This study describes the geographical areas to which men were released during 1966 and 1970 from the Massachusetts Correctional Institutions at Walpole, Norfolk, Concord and the Forestry Camps. This knowledge of the numbers of men released to different areas of Massachusetts is required for the appropriate geographical placement of Community Correctional Centers and of post-release services. Clearly the location of community-based correctional services should reflect where offenders reside after release.[1]

In presenting information on the numbers of men first residing in different geographical areas, we are faced with a problem of which geographical units to use. Various individuals and agencies will find different geographical units most relevant—state planning regions and subregions, counties, major cities, major metropolitan areas. The solution adopted in this report is to present the results in terms of all of these geographical units. The results for Boston will also be presented in several ways—in terms of both Health and Welfare Areas and Mental Health Catchment Areas.

The findings are presented below in a series of tables describing the numbers of men released during 1966 and 1970 to these various geographical units.[2] The most meaningful findings emerge when we describe the numbers of men released to the

1. This report is a task taken on by the Department of Correction research unit in conjunction with a federally-funded project entitled "A Study of Community-Based Correctional Needs in Massachusetts" (Massachusetts Governor's Committee on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice, Project Nos. 69-26, 69-29).

2. This use of information about two separate years will give us some indication of the stability of the yearly numbers of releasees to different geographical areas. In addition, a large amount of information has been previously collected and punched on IBM cards—for studies of recidivism—about the men released during 1966. For these men we cannot only describe the geographical areas to which they were released, but also as needed easily cross-tabulate this information with other information about their social backgrounds, criminal histories, present offenses and incarcerations, and recidivism.

major metropolitan areas of Massachusetts and to the Health and Welfare Areas of Boston. These particular results will be discussed in some detail toward the end of the report. Three accompanying maps at the end of the study illustrate the boundaries of: (1) the state planning regions and subregions, (2) the five major state population centers (as we have drawn their boundaries to best contain the areas to which releasees return), and (3) the Health and Welfare Areas of the City of Boston. Appendix A presents figures for the 1970 M.C.I., Framingham releasees, while Appendix B presents figures for the 1968 county House of Correction commitments.

Figures for the male M.C.I. releasees were compiled from the 1966 and 1970 Department of Public Safety "Monthly Parole and Discharge Lists." In all cases below we are referring to the first area of residence after release.

RESULTS

During 1966, there were 918 men released to the streets from the Massachusetts Correctional Institutions at Walpole, Norfolk, Concord and the Forestry Camps. 844 of these men established their first residency within Massachusetts, while 74 first resided outside the Commonwealth. During 1970, 737 men were released to the streets from these M.C.I.s with 685 first residing within Massachusetts and 52 first residing outside the Commonwealth. This drop in the total number of releasees from 918 to 737 is apparently a temporary effect of the two-thirds law.

Table I describes the number of 1966 and 1970 releasees going to each of the state planning regions and subregions, which are illustrated on the first map accompanying this report. Also indicated by Table I are those cities and towns whose individual totals comprise a significant proportion of the subregion for either 1966 or 1970. It should be noted that these cities and towns were not always the same for both years and also that some subregions had no significant individual city or town totals.

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TABLE I

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. RELEASEES RETURNING TO EACH STATE PLANNING REGION AND SUBREGION, WITH MOST COMMON CITIES

		1966		1970	
Region I		78		58	
Subregion	101	13	Pittsfield (7)	5	North Adams (5)
Subregion	102	8		5	
Subregion	103	19	Holyoke (15)	9	
Subregion	104	38	Springfield (37)	39	Springfield (38)
Region II		90		50	
Subregion	206	12	Leominster (4)	5	
Subregion	207	3		3	
Subregion	208	10		3	
Subregion	209	14		4	
Subregion	210	51	Worcester (42)	35	Worcester (30)
Region III		66		63	
Subregion	311	43	Cambridge (19) Somerville (24)	34	Cambridge (16) Somerville (18)
Subregion	312	3		4	
Subregion	314	9	Waltham (7)	17	Waltham (14)
Subregion	315	11	Woburn (5)	8	Woburn (5)
Region IV		64		49	
Subregion	416	12	Salem (4)	8	
Subregion	419	19	Lynn (18)	20	Lynn (19)
Subregion	420	28	Malden (15)	15	Medford (7)
Subregion	421	5		6	
Region V		44		31	
Subregion	522	7	Norwood (4)	3	
Subregion	523	8	Newton (6)	4	Newton (4)
Subregion	524	19	Weymouth (9)	18	Quincy (7)
Subregion	525	10	Framingham (7)	6	
Region VI		355		333	
Boston		332	Boston (332)	320	Boston (320)
Brookline, Chelsea, Revere, Winthrop		23	Chelsea (12)	13	Chelsea (5) Revere (5)
Region VII		80		55	
Subregion	731	9	Yarmouth (5)	4	
Subregion	732	21	Brockton (16)	13	Brockton (8)
Subregion	733	19	Fall River (18)	12	Fall River (10)
Subregion	734	4		1	
Subregion	735	20	New Bedford (18)	16	New Bedford (13)
Subregion	736	5		4	
Subregion	767	2		5	Taunton (4)

Region VIII		67		46	
Subregion	813	33	Lowell (31)	28	Lowell (19)
Subregion	817	12	Haverhill (7)	5	
Subregion	818	22	Lawrence (16)	13	Lawrence (9)

Tables II and III present the number of releasees from each institution going to each planning region. Table II figures pertain to 1966 releasees while Table III refers to 1970 releasees.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF 1966 RELEASEES FROM EACH M.C.I. RETURNING TO EACH STATE PLANNING REGION

Regions	Totals	Walpole	Norfolk	Concord	Forestry
I	78	18	27	19	14
II	90	8	31	35	16
III	66	9	21	27	9
IV	64	16	17	27	4
V	44	11	16	14	3
VI	355	89	114	107	45
VII	80	19	23	26	12
VIII	67	8	21	32	6
	844	178	270	287	109

TABLE III

NUMBERS OF 1970 RELEASEES FROM EACH M.C.I. RETURNING TO EACH STATE PLANNING REGION

Regions	Totals	Walpole	Norfolk	Concord	Forestry
I	58	4	16	24	14
II	50	9	10	26	5
III	63	13	15	31	4
IV	49	6	14	24	5
V	31	8	7	11	5
VI	333	67	99	138	29
VII	55	8	18	21	8
VIII	46	4	19	20	3
	685	119	198	295	73

Table IV points out the cities to which offenders were most frequently released. In 1966, 620 or 68% of the releasees returned to only 15 cities. In 1970, 528 or 72% of the releasees returned to these 15 cities.

TABLE IV

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. RELEASEES RETURNING TO MOST COMMON CITIES

	1966	1970
Boston	332	320
Worcester	42	30
Springfield	37	38
Lowell	31	19
Somerville	24	16
Cambridge	19	18
Lynn	18	19
New Bedford	18	13
Fall River	18	10
Lawrence	16	9
Brockton	16	8
Malden	15	6
Holyoke	15	3
Waltham	7	14
Chelsea	12	5

Table V describes the first residence of releasees by counties. It is significant to note that in 1966, 55% of all releasees resided in either Suffolk or Middlesex County, while in 1970, 62% of all releasees resided in these two counties.

TABLE V

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. RELEASEES RETURNING TO EACH COUNTY

County	1966	1970
Berkshire	13	5
Franklin	2	1
Hampshire	1	3
Hampden	65	52
Worcester	85	47
Middlesex	150	121
Essex	65	46
Suffolk	354	331
Norfolk	32	25
Plymouth	23	21
Bristol	45	30
Barnstable	8	2
Dukes	0	0
Nantucket	1	1

Table VI accounts for the remaining releasees who did not first reside within Massachusetts after their release. These men constituted 8% of the 1966 releasees

and 7% of the 1970 releasees. During both years New York and the New England States accounted for more than half of all out of state releasees.

TABLE VI

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. RELEASEES RETURNING TO OTHER STATES

	1966	1970
Connecticut	12	8
New Hampshire	8	9
Rhode Island	6	9
Maine	3	4
Vermont	3	0
New York	8	4
All Other States	34	18
Total	74	52

Table VII shows releasee totals for the five state population centers illustrated on the second map accompanying this report. Because of the tremendous concentration of releasees in the Metropolitan Boston area, this section will be subdivided so as to point out figures for Boston itself, a small area directly north of Boston consisting of twelve cities and towns, and the remaining metropolitan area. The section of the table labeled "Northern Suburbs" includes: Lynn, Revere, Chelsea, Winthrop, Everett, Malden, Medford, Somerville, Cambridge, Belmont, Watertown, and Waltham.

TABLE VII

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. RELEASEES RETURNING TO MAJOR STATE POPULATION CENTERS

		1966		1970	
		N	%	N	%
Greater Springfield	I	62	7%	52	7%
Greater Worcester	II	77	8%	43	6%
Greater Lowell-Lawrence	III	62	7%	39	5%
Greater New Bedford-Fall River	IV	39	4%	28	4%
Greater Boston	V	519	57%	477	65%
Boston		(332)	(36%)	(320)	(44%)
Northern Suburbs		(117)	(13%)	(96)	(13%)
Remaining Area		(70)	(8%)	(61)	(8%)
All Other Mass. Areas		85	9%	46	6%
Out of State		74	8%	52	7%
TOTAL		918	100%	737	100%

This table constitutes the clearest way of understanding the areas to which men were released during 1966 and 1970. First, perhaps the major finding of the report is how few men returned to areas outside these five large population centers of Massachusetts. Only 9% of the 1966 releasees and 6% of the 1970 releasees returned to areas of Massachusetts outside these five population centers.

Second, a sizable majority of releasees returned to the metropolitan Boston area. In fact, during 1966 over twice as many men returned to Greater Boston as returned to the other four large metropolitan areas combined, and during 1970 almost three times as many men returned to Greater Boston as to the other four areas combined. Most of these men returned to Boston proper (36% of the total during 1966 and 44% during 1970). In addition, a strikingly large number of men returned to the small area labeled Northern Suburbs (13% in both years). A smaller but still sizable number of men returned to the large remaining area within an approximately fifteen mile radius of Boston (8% in both years).

Third, sizable numbers of men returned to the other four large metropolitan areas—Greater Springfield, Greater Worcester, Greater Lowell-Lawrence, and Greater New Bedford-Fall River. Approximately one-quarter of the releasees each year returned to one of these four areas. The number of men released to each of these four areas is dwarfed by the number of releasees to the Greater Boston area.

Table VIII presents a detailed breakdown of the numbers of men released during 1966 and 1970 to different Health and Welfare areas of Boston, as well as to different halfway houses and other residential facilities. The table also presents the total numbers of releasees to Boston areas of high, moderate and low releasee concentration, as well as to Boston halfway houses and other residential facilities. The third accompanying map illustrates the boundaries of the Health and Welfare Areas.

TABLE VIII

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. BOSTON RELEASEES RETURNING TO EACH HEALTH AND WELFARE AREA, AND TO RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES

	1966	1970
North Dorchester	68	64
Roxbury	57	55
South Dorchester	14	31
South End	34	21
"CORE CITY" BOSTON	173	171
Back Bay	14	15
Brighton	14	10
Charlestown	14	12
East Boston	16	12
North End	3	3
South Boston	24	11
West End	1	2
NORTHERN BOSTON	86	65
Hyde Park	5	5
Jamaica Plain	11	7
Roslindale	3	7
West Roxbury	3	6
SOUTHWESTERN BOSTON	22	25
Brooke House	22	37
Gavin House	8	3
Pratt Diagnostic Clinic	10	6
Other Residential Facilities	11	13
RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES	51	59
BOSTON TOTAL	332	320

A striking finding presented in this table is that each year one-sixth of the men released to Boston first resided in a halfway house or other residential facility. This constitutes one solid beginning for a community-based correctional program. The most common residential facility to which men were released was Brooke House; by 1970 fully one of every ten men released to Boston first resided in Brooke House.

When we turn to an examination of the areas in which men first resided who were released to homes, apartments and rooms, Boston seems to divide itself into three sections of varying releasee concentration. The first section is a core city area of high releasee concentration consisting of Roxbury, North Dorchester, South Dorchester and the South End. The second section is the northern part of Boston with a moderate relcasee concentration; this zone consists of Brighton, Back Bay, South Boston, the West End, the North End, Charlestown and East Boston. The third section is the southwestern area of Boston with a low releasee concentration; this zone consists of Hyde Park, West Roxbury, Roslindale and Jamaica Plain.

The central finding about Boston releasees is their heavy concentration in the core city section of Roxbury, North Dorchester, South Dorchester and the South End. Of the men released to other than residential facilities, almost twice as many were released each year to these four Health and Welfare Areas as to the remaining eleven Health and Welfare Areas. One-fifth of all releasees each year first resided in one of these four areas. The concentration of releasees in Roxbury and North Dorchester was the heaviest of all areas of the city.

It is also noteworthy that the concentration of releasees was much higher in the northern section of the city than in the southwestern section. We have then a pattern of relatively high concentration of releasees both in the northern section of Boston proper and in the twelve suburbs directly north of Boston. 22% of all releasees each year first resided in one of these areas.

Two trends relating to Boston releasees can be identified by comparing 1966 and 1970 figures. First, the area of high releasee concentration seems to be moving southward within Boston. From 1966 to 1970, the number of men released to South Boston decreased from 24 to 11, while the number of men released to South Dorchester increased from 14 to 31. Second, an increasing proportion of releasees seem to be returning to Boston. From 1966 to 1970, the percentage of releasees who returned to Boston increased from 36% to 43%. As a result the number of releasees to Boston remained stable even though the total number of releasees dropped from 918 to 737.

We can then expect an increase in the number of releasees returning to Boston in future years.

Table IX presents the numbers of offenders released in 1966 and 1970 released to each of the Mental Health Catchment Areas of Region VI, as well as the numbers released to halfway houses and other residential facilities. It should be noted that Region VI consists of not only Boston but also Brookline, Revere, Winthrop and Chelsea.

TABLE IX

NUMBERS OF M.C.I. REGION VI RELEASEES RETURNING TO MENTAL HEALTH CATCHMENT AREAS

	1966	1970
Boston State Hospital Area	49	80
Boston University Area	117	86
Harbor Area	56	40
Massachusetts Area	34	40
Tufts Area	48	28
Residential Facilities	51	59
TOTAL	355	333

APPENDIX A

Table X illustrates the 1970 releasee figures for M.C.I., Framingham, on the basis of state-planning regions, most common cities, and counties. These figures do not include voluntary admissions for either drug or alcoholic problems as well as those who served a sentence of less than two weeks.* Information on Framingham releasees was obtained from Department of Correction Admission and Discharge lists.

During 1970, there were a total of 155 such women released from this institution. Of the 140 women who chose to remain within the state, it is significant to note that 73% resided in only 7 cities, 63% resided in either Suffolk or Middlesex Counties, and 43% resided in Boston alone.

TABLE X

FIRST AREAS OF RESIDENCE OF M.C.I., FRAMINGHAM RELEASEES DURING 1970

Planning Region	
I	17
II	3
III	6
IV	14
V	13
VI	67
VII	12
VIII	8

Most Common Cities	
Boston	65
Framingham	9
Lynn	8
Springfield	8
New Bedford	4
Cambridge	4
Lawrence	4

County	
Berkshire	2
Franklin	1
Hampshire	2
Hampden	12
Worcester	3
Middlesex	23
Essex	18
Suffolk	65
Norfolk	2
Plymouth	3
Bristol	8
Barnstable	1
Dukes	0
Nantucket	0
Out of State	15
TOTAL	155

APPENDIX B

Table XI lists the number of offenders sentenced to each of the 14 county Houses of Correction during 1968. Table XII translates these figures in an estimate of the numbers released to each state-planning region. Information on these county sentenced offenders was obtained from the 1968 Statistical Report of the Commissioner of Correction.

* Only committments from Massachusetts courts are included in these tables.

During 1968, there were 8467 men and women sentenced to county institutions. 5595 of these received sentences of one month or less, while 2872 served sentences of two months or more. The information presented in Tables XI and XIII is cateforized for both these "short-termers" and "long-termers".

TABLE XI

NUMBERS OF OFFENDERS SENTENCED TO EACH COUNTY INSTITUTION DURING 1968

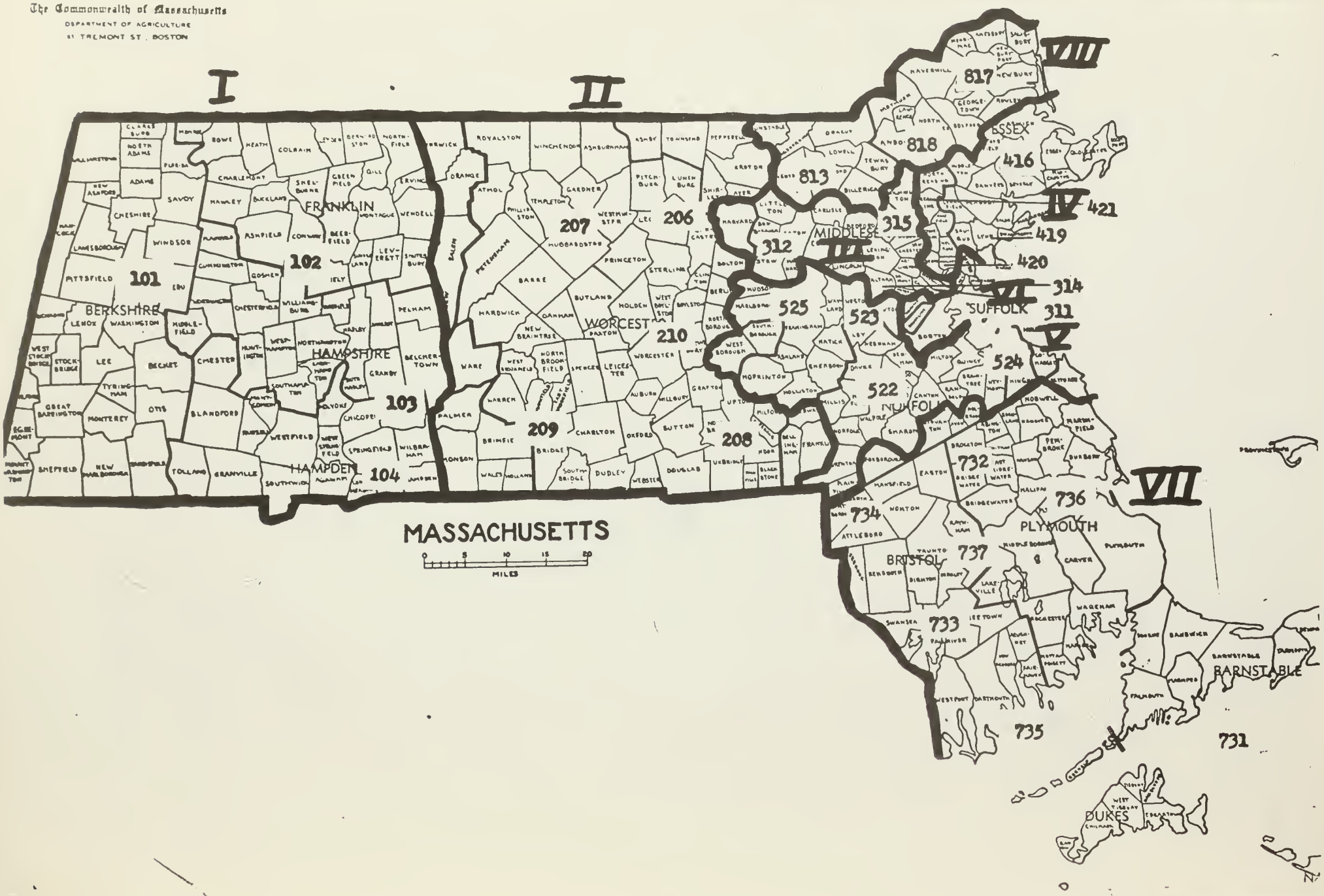
County Institution	Sentence of One Month or Less	Sentence of Two Months or More
Barnstable	114	94
Billerica	692	399
Boston	929	102
Dedham	118	157
Deer Island	215	837
Greenfield	114	35
Lawrence	167	113
New Bedford	203	182
Northampton	132	106
Pittsfield	233	77
Plymouth	250	199
Salem	322	129
Springfield	740	181
Worcester	1366	261
TOTALS	5595	2872

TABLE XII

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF COUNTY SENTENCED PRISONERS RELEASED TO EACH STATE PLANNING REGION DURING 1968

Region	Sentence of One Month or Less	Sentence of Two Months or More
I	1158	356
II	1397	258
III	356	217
IV	466	205
V	228	221
VI	1153	956
VII	562	458
VIII	311	201
TOTALS	5595	2872

MAP I. BOUNDARIES OF STATE PLANNING REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS



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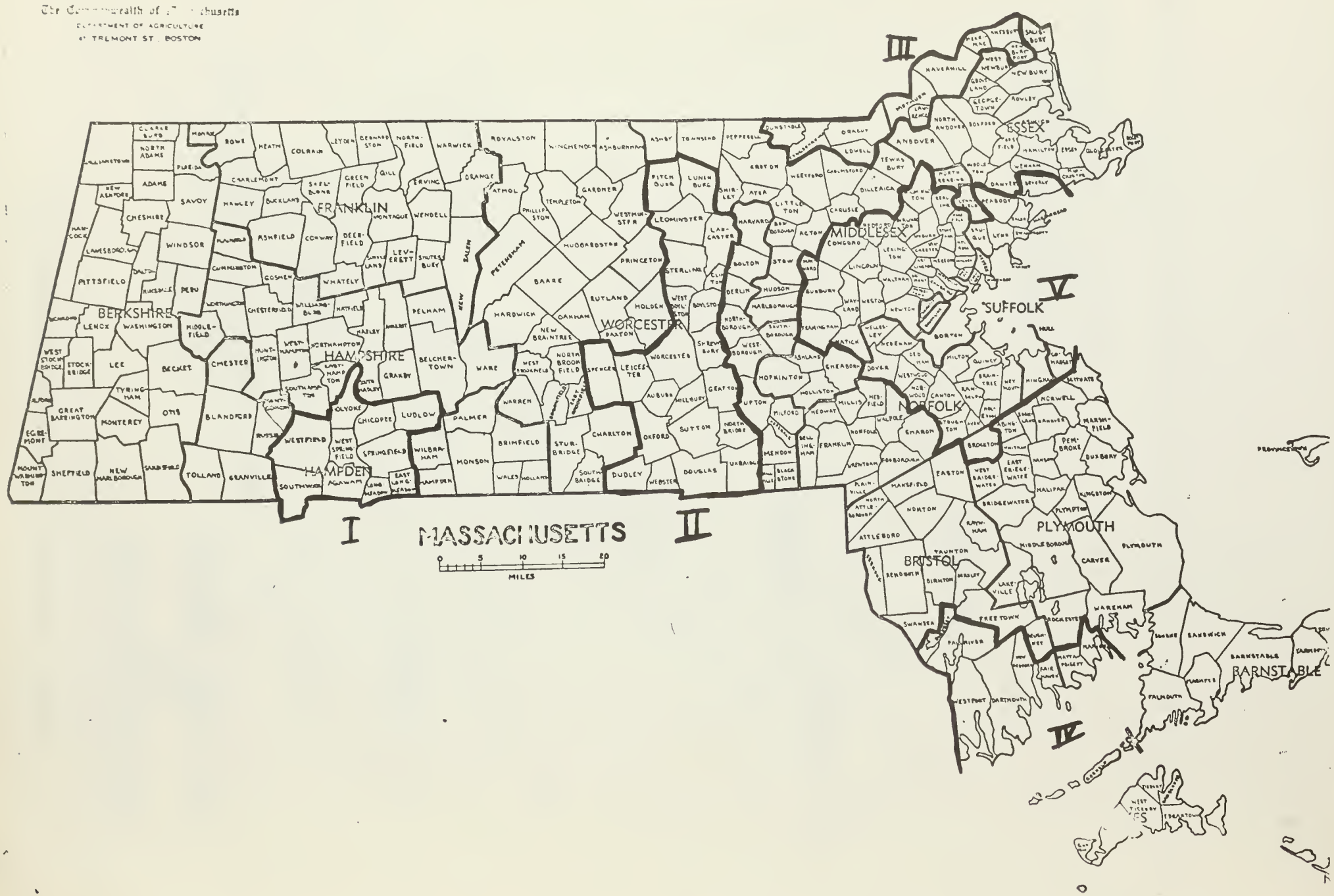
MAP II. BOUNDARIES OF THE FIVE MAJOR STATE POPULATION CENTERS



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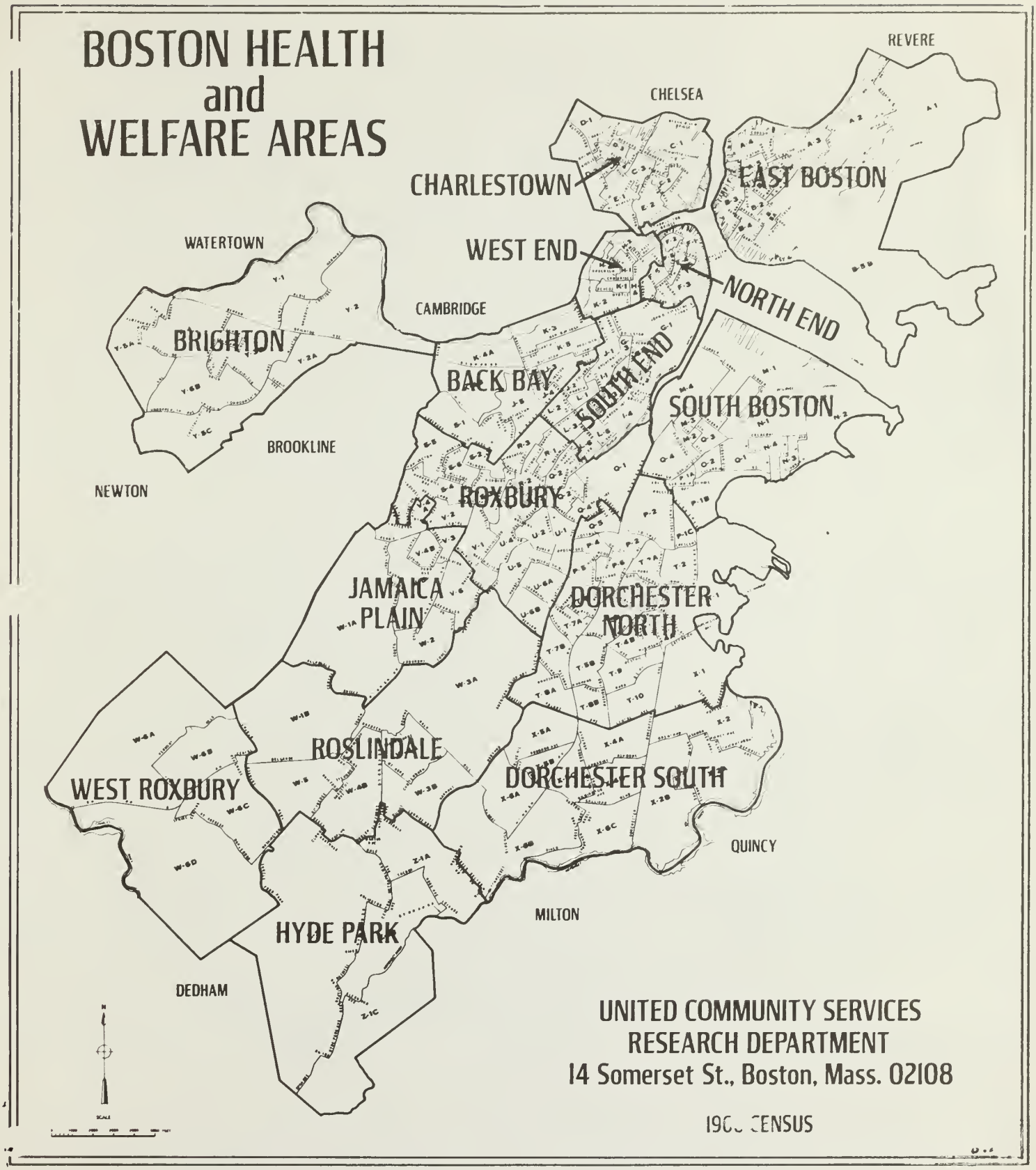
MAP III. BOUNDARIES OF BOSTON HEALTH AND WELFARE AREAS